Stafford. Hon. Ed. Monkton 264, Rd B. Sheridan 264, G. Sloper 182, B. B. Hopkins 145.

* *Steyning.* James Martin Lloyd, Henry Howard, John Curtis, Sir J. Honeywood.

* *Stockbridge.* John Cator 78, John Scott 74, Joſ. F. Barham 23, Geo. Porter 23

* *Sudbury.* T. C. Creſpigny 385, J. C. Hippeſley 371, William Smith 352, John Pardoe 332.

Suffolk county. Sir T. C. Bunbury 3065, Sir J. Rous 2755, Sir Gerard Vanneck 2047.

Surrey county. Lord William Ruſſell 1842, Hon. W. C. Finch 1374, Sir Joſ. Mawbey 1034.

Taunton. Sir Benjamin Hammet 291, Alexander Popham 257, John Halliday 239, ——— Morland 183.

* *Weſtminſter.* Rt Hon. C. J. Fox 3516, Lord Hood 3217, John Horne Tooke 1679.

Worceſter. Edm. Wigley 959, Edw. Lechmere jun 892, Sam. Smith jun. 692.

Chipping Wycombe. Earl Wycombe 34, Sir J. Jervis 26. ——— Daſhwood 22.

Yarmouth, Norfolk. Rt Hon. C. Townſhend 643, Henry Beaufoy 463, J. T. Sandys 187.

SCOTLAND.

Cromartyſhire. Duncan Davidſon 4, Alexander Brodie 3.

Dumfries-ſhire. Sir Rob. Laurie 22, John Johnſtone 13.

Linlithgowſhire. Hon. John Hope 34, Sir Wm Aug. Cunnynghame 20.

Perthſhire. Ja. Murray 67, J. Drummond 39.

Renfrewſhire. J. S. Stewart 22, Alex. Cunningham 21.

* *Roxburghſhire.* Sir Geo. Douglas 30, John Rutherford 25.

* *Stirlingſhire.* Sir Tho. Dundas 28, Sir Alex. Campbell 22.

* *Sutherlandſhire.* Ja. Grant 9, R. B. E. Macleod 5, R. H. Gordon 3.

* *Orkney and Zetland.* John Balfour 19, Thomas Dundas 13.

Aberdeen, Montroſe, Inverbervie, Alexander Callander. Brechin, Arbroath, *Sir D. Carnegie.*

Dundee, St Andrew's, Forfar, Cupar, Geo. Murray. Perth, *Colin Campbell.*

Anſtruther Weſter, Anſtruther Eaſter, Pittenweem, Sir J. Anſtruther. Crail, Kilrenny, *Thomas Erſkine.*

Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, Hon. Charles Hope. Dyſart, Burntiſland, *John Crawfurd.*

* Dunbar, North Berwick, Lauder, Hon. Tho. Maitland. Haddington, Jedburgh, *W. Fullarton.*

* Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Sanquhar, Patrick Miller jun. Annan, Lochmaben, *Sir James Johnſtone.*

Whithorn, Wigton, Niſbet Balfour. New Galloway, Stranraer, *Lord Daer.*

*** Petitions were preſented to the Houſe of Commons againſt the returns made for the places marked with an aſteriſk. *

Funeral of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland's death, which happened on Sept. 18. [p. 466.], was owing to a cancer in the mouth and throat, which he had ſtruggled with for ſix months, and which at certain periods ſeemed to yield to the force of medicine, but had at laſt broke out with an uncommon degree of violence. The palate was entirely deſtroyed, and the right lobe of the lungs was a maſs of putreſcency; but neither the trachia nor the œſophagus were in the leaſt ulcerated, and the viſcera were in perfect ſanity. The diſorder prevented his ſwallowing any thing but liquids for near a month paſt. On the 14th, by advice of his phyſicians, he got down the yolks of two eggs, but with ſuch extreme pain, that he could not be prevailed upon to practiſe it a ſecond time. At the commencement of his illneſs he was adviſed to repair to Weymouth, in order to try the ſalt water. It is apprehended that ſea-bathing, which is in as many caſes pernicious as it is ſalutary in others, may have accelerated his death. His Royal Highneſs had come to town from his lodge in Windſor Park the preceding afternoon; and ſo far was he from having any idea of approaching death, that his band were ordered up to town for a concert in Pall-mall on Friday night; and he had appointed to meet his hounds to hunt at Windſor Lodge this morning; but on his alighting from his carriage in Pall-mall, he found himſelf ſo exceſſively weak, that he exclaimed. "I feel now that I am going." In the courſe of the night he expreſſed himſelf in the moſt affectionate and tender manner to the Ducheſs (who ſat up with him) for her unwearied attention to him through his indiſpoſition; he alſo returned thanks to all his attendants for their care and aſſiduity towards him; and he departed this life with the greateſt ſerenity; without the leaſt ſtruggle or emotion; even without the obſervance of thoſe who were more immediately about him, the vital ſpark having left him a few minutes before they perceived that he was dead. He was attended during his long illneſs by Dr Warren, Dr Blane, and Mr Hawkins.—Dr Blane and Mr Atkinſon were with him at the moment of his death. Official notice was immediately given from the Lord Chamberlain's Office to ſtop the play-houſes and other places of public amuſement, and in the evening St Paul's bell tolled, as uſual on ſuch occaſions. A general mourning was ordered on Sunday Sept. 26. Officers of the army and navy were not required to wear any other mourning than a black crape round their left arms, with their uniforms.

On the night of Sept. 27. His Royal Highneſs's corpſe was carried from Cumberland houſe

houſe to the Prince's chamber, where the body lay in ſtate from eight in the morning till five in the evening of the 28th, and about ten that night was interred in the royal vault in King Henry VII's Chapel. The following is the ceremonial:

Drums and Trumpets
Sounding a ſolemn march, the coverings of the drums and the Banners of the trumpets adorned with naval trophies,
Serjeant Trumpeter,
Knight-Marſhal's-men.
Footmen to his R. Highneſs, in laced liveries.
Pages of the Preſence
Pages of the Back Stairs,
Pages of Honour,
Phyſicians,
Chaplains,
Equeries,
Secretary,
Purſuivants of Arms,
Heralds,
Comptroller and Treaſurer of his Royal Highneſs's houſehold,
Norroy King of Arms,
Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold,
Marquis of Saliſbury.

A Gentleman Uſher, Hale Young Wortham, Eſq; | Clarenceux King of Arms, bearing the CORONET up on a black Velvet Cuſhion. | A Gentleman Uſher, Thomas Tuttridge, Eſq;

THE BODY,

In a Crimſon Velvet Coffin, covered with a black Velvet Pall, adorned with eight eſcutcheons of his Royal Highneſs's arms, under a canopy of Black Velvet, borne by eight Admirals, in their uniform coats, black waiſtcoats, and crapes in their hats and on their arms, viz.

Sir Francis Geary,	Sir H. Palliſer,
Earl Howe,	M. Barton,
Hugh Pigot,	Sir Peter Parker,
Lord Shuldham,	Hon. S. Barrington.

The Pall, ſupported by four Barons, viz.
Onſlow, Walſingham, Hawkeſbury, Dover.

A Gentleman Uſher, James Meller, Eſq; | Garter Principal King of Arms, with his Rod of Office. | A Gentleman Uſher, Edm. Armſtrong, Eſq;

Supporter, D. of Bedford, in a long Black Cloak. | Chief Mourner, Duke of Dorſet, in a long black cloak, his train borne by Sir Geo. Oſborne, Bt | Supporter, D. of Leeds, in a long Black Cloak.

Aſſiſtants to the Chief Mourner,

Earls Cheſterfield,	Pomfret,
Leiceſter,	Harcourt,
Ayleſbury,	Eſſex,
Harrington,	Tankerville,
Chatham,	Lord Viſcount Sydney.

A Gentleman Uſher,
Grooms of his Royal Highneſs's Bed-Chamber,
Yeoman of the Guard.

The proceſſion was through the Old Palace-yard, to the ſouth-eaſt door of Weſtminſter Abbey. At the entrance within the church, the Dean and Prebendaries, attended by the choir, received the body, and fell into the proceſſion juſt before the officer of arms who preceded the Lord Chamberlain, and ſo proceeded into King Henry VII's chapel, where the body was placed on treſſels, the head towards the altar; the coronet and cuſhion being laid upon the coffin, and the canopy held over it, while the ſervice was read by the Dean of Weſtminſter. The chief mourner, and his two ſupporters, ſitting on chairs placed for them at the head of the corpſe; the Lords aſſiſtants and the ſupporters of the pall being neareſt the body.

The part of the ſervice before the interment being read, the corpſe was depoſited in the vault.

The body being interred, the Dean went on with the office of burial; which ended, Garter king of arms proclaimed his Royal Highneſs's Style, as follows:

"Thus it hath pleaſed Almighty God to take out of this tranſitory life unto his divine mercy, the late moſt high, moſt mighty, and moſt illuſtrious Prince Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland and Strathern, Earl of Dublin, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, fourth ſon of the late moſt illuſtrious Prince Frederick, Prince of Wales, deceaſed, and third brother to his moſt excellent Majeſty George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; whom God bleſs and preſerve with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happineſs!"

When this ceremony was finiſhed, the drums were unmuffled and beat a march, the trumpets ſounding when the proceſſion returned. There were on duty near 1200 men.

Inſcription on the coffin: "Depoſitum illuſtriſſimi Henrici Frederici de Brunſwick-Luneburg, Ducis Cumbriæ & Strathernæ, Comitis Dubliniæ, nobiliſſimi Ordinis Periſcelidis Equitis, filii quartogeniti illuſtriſſimi Frederici Principis Walliæ, defuncti, & fratris auguſtiſſimi & potentiſſimi Georgii Tertii, Dei gratiâ, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defenſoris. Obiit 18° die Septembris, anno Domini 1790°, ætatis ſuæ 45°.

Every limb, and every finger, reſpectively, of his late Royal Highneſs, lies bound in lawn, and covered with white ſattin; the body and the face, in like manner, bound round with the ſame materials. The neck, wriſts, knees, and feet, are elegantly ornamented with purple bows; the coffin is lined with white ſattin, and richly ornamented.

Minute-guns were fired as uſual—The whole expence of the proceſſion amounted to 5000 l.

PAR-

PARLIAMENT. [p. 588.]

In the House of Commons, Dec. 17. the order of the day being read for resolving into a committee on the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq; Mr Burke moved, That the Speaker leave the chair.

Mr Bastard rose to oppose this motion. Gentlemen must know, he said, the intention of it to be for two purposes, first, to declare the right to proceed in the impeachment; and, secondly, to decide whether they would proceed in it. He had not a doubt of the right of the House; for he was not one of those who considered an impeachment to end with a dissolution. He could not see, however, why that question should be agitated, nor why it should be blended with the impeachment of Mr Hastings, conceiving it to throw an undue weight against him. He hoped sincerely that the abstract question of right might not be discussed, but if the House should deem it necessary, he as sincerely hoped, that whenever they should come to such a resolution, they would persevere in it to the last extremity; even to an appeal to the public for a decision between them and the Lords, should any difference be the consequence of a resolution resulting from the discussion of that abstract question. The present parliament, benefiting by the proceedings of the former, would do well to pause before they gave their consent to impeachments, and to guard against the contradictions entered by the former on their journals in consequence of the present impeachment. India had been, for the purpose of impeaching Mr Hastings, represented as a desert, and governed by a ruinous and corrupt system; but for another purpose, he found, on the same journals, India represented in the most flourishing state. In the last parliament he was one of those who had voted the charges against Mr Hastings; but he had voted them upon the supposition of Mr Hastings's system being to be done away; instead of which, however, the Board of Controul had sanctioned that system, and had confirmed all the measures of Mr Hastings; and for that reason, he retracted the opinion he had before held of the criminality of Mr Hastings. He contended, that the prosecution of Mr Hastings had been carried on in contradiction to the principles of the constitution; for it was the right of an Englishman not to have excessive fines imposed upon him, and to have the speedy means, upon a prosecution, of acquittal or condemnation. Both these principles he felt to have been grossly violated; a man had been put on his trial for twenty-one charges; in the course of three years, one seventh-part of those charges were gone through; it would therefore be twenty-one years, supposing the House should go on with the impeachment, before they could make good the charges to the Lords; and allowing the same time for the defence, the trial would continue forty-two years; after which, probably the Commons would make a reply of a few years more, and the Lords conclude by giving judgement. He begged gentlemen to consider the feelings of the mind of a man held up by that House to public execration, as the greatest villain on earth, without the prospect of clearing himself; and this would be the case by continuing the impeachment in the manner it had been continued, and which could not but operate as a most cruel and most unheard-of torture. The Hon. Gentleman, after a few more remarks, concluded by moving the consideration of the impeachment that day six months.

Col. Macleod seconded the motion. He considered the present attempt to be the exercise of a privilege of the House to destroy Mr Hastings. He agreed that a dissolution did not abate an impeachment, but he did not think the House of Commons to be under the necessity of seizing on a poor individual, as means of asserting that right: justice, honour, and humanity, forbid such a proceeding; the House ought not to build or maintain their privileges on the bowels of a fellow-subject. The Hon. Gentleman then stated, from actual knowledge, the general opinion entertained of Mr Hastings in India; he begged, however, to assure the House, that he spoke from no partiality for Mr Hastings, being wholly unacquainted with him, having received no favour from him, nor having ever seen him until, as a criminal, at the bar of that House; what he should say, therefore, he gave merely in defence of injured worth and innocence. When in India he had conversed with many of the native princes, generals, and every other class of people in that country, who were unanimous in admitting, that the name of Hastings had added honour and splendor to the name of Britain: he said, among others,

others, he had ſat up many nights with Tippoo Sultan, who was a very inquiſitive and wiſe prince, and he had always conſidered Mr Haſtings as one of his moſt fatal enemies, and as great a man as ever came from Europe.——At Delhi the opinion of Mr Haſtings was general for ability and worth. He ſaid he believed he had travelled over more of India than any man in this kingdom, and the reſult of his obſervation was, that the country over which Mr Haſtings had had the greateſt influence was in the greateſt proſperity; that over which he had a leſs degree of influence was, in an equal degree, leſs proſperous; and that over which he had no influence had no proſperity. The ſyſtem laid down by Mr Haſtings was wiſely perſevered in by Earl Cornwallis. The Hon. Gentleman concluded with making a few obſervations upon the merit of Mr Haſtings, in ſaving a conſiderable part of the empire, while others at home were carrying on an expenſive and ruinous war.

Mr Jones ſaid, he knew not the man further than as a great ſtate delinquent, whom he ſincerely hoped juſtice might overtake. He conſidered the right of the impeachment to be the ſafeguard of the people, and wiſhed the Houſe might never ſuffer an impeachment to be done away by a ſide-wind, or blaſted by a diſſolution.

Mr Pitt and Mr Fox both inſiſted, that the merits or demerits of Mr Haſtings had nothing to do with the queſtion before the Houſe: they both conſtitutionally contended, that the right of the Commons to impeach ought to be declared; that the queſtions ought not to be blended together; and that by the Houſe going into a committee, gentlemen would be ſtill at liberty to object to the right being exerciſed in the preſent caſe.

Mr Baſtard's motion being then negatived without a diviſion, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, Sir Peter Burrell in the chair:

Mr Burke now, after a ſhort but pleaſant exordium, proceeded to ſtate the importance of the privileges of the Houſe, and particularly that of impeachment. He ſaid, he ſhould propoſe only the adoption of a principle recognized and admitted for 500 years. The Houſe of Commons was not a judicial body, or eccleſiaſtical body, nor was it an executive body, but it had a delegated truſt from the people to watch over every thing; and ſhould it once diveſt itſelf of that power, it would no longer be a guardian of the conſtitution; it would be like ſalt without ſavour, and the offſcourings of every thing. He moved, "That it appears to this committee, that an impeachment by the Houſe of Commons, in the name of all the Commons of England, againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq; late Governor-General of Bengal, is now depending."

Mr Erſkine conſidered this to be a queſtion reſting on precedents, and as ſuch not a queſtion that ought to be precipitately decreed upon. He held in his hand a long ſtring of precedents, and aſſerted, that from the Norman conqueſt to the preſent time, no trial, with but a ſingle exception, that began in one parliament had been taken up and continued in another. Mr Erſkine was here taken ſuddenly ill, and could proceed no further than to move the chairman to report progreſs.

The Speaker ſaid, the right of impeachment was an honour to that Houſe, and a ſafeguard to the people. He ſaid, the ſeeds of this principle were to be traced ſo far back as the reign of Edward III. and from that time they had been gathering ſtrength until they were arrived to maturity.—He argued the precedent of 1678, which, he ſaid, was not made in conſequence of the rage of party, but that it was founded on the writs of error in 1673, before the impeachment could have been thought of againſt the Lords, and could not by any means be wakened. He ſtated alſo the impeachment of Lords Stafford and Danby, who were brought to their trials after two Parliaments had been diſſolved. He was clearly and decidedly of opinion, that an impeachment did not abate with a diſſolution.

On motion of Mr Pitt, the debate was adjourned till the 21ſt.

Mr Erſkine then roſe, and in a ſpeech of two hours and a half went over a great deal of argument, and quoted a multiplicity of precedents, to ſhow that impeachments ceaſe with a diſſolution of parliament. The caſe of Lord Danby, he ſaid, which had been advanced in ſupport of the queſtion, was a proceeding contrary to all rule and precedent, and diſgraceful to the judicature of the country:—From this precedent the motion was contended for; but he declared it to be in the teeth of Magna Charta, and to be contrary to every analogy drawn from the Engliſh law

law or Engliſh liberty.—The Lords had, however, annulled that ſolitary order for the maintenance of impeachments from one parliament to another, by an order made in 1685; and if the advocates for carrying on an impeachment, admitted the right of the Lords to make the precedent in 1678, they muſt alſo be admitted to have had the right to annul that order. From that time to the preſent, the order of 1678 was dead and buried in oblivion, but that of 1685 had been invariably abided by. He ſaid, it was his wiſh in oppoſing the preſent motion, to guard the conſtitution and the law of the realm; he wiſhed the Houſe to conſider well of their privileges, and to what extent they were warranted in puſhing them. He wiſhed the Houſe to pauſe and to examine precedents, in doing which no doubt of their privileges would be implied; for who would ſay, that a man, by reading his Bible, doubted the goſpel? He quoted the precedents of Lords Saliſbury and Peterborough in 1690, when the Lords made an order, to take into conſideration, on the 7th of February, the queſtion, Whether the impeachment could be proceeded in or not in the new parliament?—The inquiry was not, however, made in relation to thoſe Noble Lords, who had the King's pardon to plead, and were diſcharged thereon, but for the purpoſe of proceeding againſt Sir Adam Blair, Mr Mole, and others, who had been impeached by a former Houſe of Commons, but were all diſcharged by the Lords on the diſſolution. Upon that occaſion, the Lords' committee had ſearched for precedents, and did report, that having ſearched from the beginning of the journals to that time, they could find no precedent for the carrying on of an impeachment after a diſſolution, except in the caſes of the Lords in 1678. He ſaid, the Duke of Buckingham, the minion of James and of Charles, had been impeached; the Commons, ſenſible that a diſſolution would abate the trial, and being apprehenſive thereof, remonſtrated to his Majeſty, who, regardleſs of the remonſtrance, diſſolved his parliament. In the new Houſe of Commons, though juſtly inveterate againſt the Duke, no man thought of proceeding in the impeachment; on the contrary, they humbly addreſſed his Majeſty to remove the Duke from his councils. In 1621 and in 1623, he quoted impeachments which had abated by a diſſolution. In the year 1671, the Duke of Leeds was diſcharged from an impeachment preſented againſt him by a new parliament, the Lords not thinking them competent to proceed.—He ſtated the law of the land to be, that a proſecution ended in the death of a proſecutor. Suppoſing that he, or any other perſon, ſhould be guilty of murder, the bills of indictment found, and he be put on his trial; that during the examination of evidence an account of the King's death arrived; in that caſe he would aſſert, that the trial immediately ceaſed, and the priſoner had every right to his liberty, and he could not again be tried on the ſame indictment. He quoted the Habeas Corpus act, in oppoſition to proceeding from parliament to parliament in an impeachment; for if it did not abate with a diſſolution, there was no limit to the trial. He did not aſk the Houſe to change their precedents, he intreated them only not to overleap the landmarks of juriſprudence, and to give awe and reſpect to their reſolutions by deliberation. He moved the appointment of a committee to conſider precedents.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaw no reaſon whatever to poſtpone the deciſion of the queſtion; he conſidered the queſtion for that night to be, Whether impeachments were or were not a part of the powers and privileges of that Houſe? That power he ſhould ever contend for as the guardian of the bleſſings we were now in the enjoyment of.—He ſaid, if there ſhould appear, as there did to him, principles paramount to all precedents, it would not be too much for him to ſay, that we ought immediately to adopt the motion. In early times, he ſaid, there were many inſtances of penal proceedings being continued from parliament to parliament, and quoted that of the Duke of Suffolk in the reign of Henry VI. The Rt Hon. Gentleman then entered into the ſtatement of modern precedents, and quoted that of Sir W. Scroggs, who was impeached in one parliament, and proceeded againſt in another. He then took a review of the precedents offered in oppoſition to the motion, but drew from them different concluſions to thoſe of the Hon. Gentleman (Mr Erſkine). He ſaid, he had no doubt of the precedents being in favour of the rights of that Houſe; but if they were doubtful, a principle could be advanced which had been the uſage of par-

liament, and was interwoven in the conſtitution. The Rt Hon. Gentleman then ſhewed the analogy between writs of errors, appeals, and impeachments, contending that the diſſolution of parliament abated neither, they being judicial, and not legiſlative acts. He ſaid, the impeachment was not the impeachment of any particular Houſe of Commons, but was expreſsly ſtated to be the impeachment of all the Commons of Great Britain. The Houſe of Commons for the time being was the repreſentative of all the commons; that Houſe was the legal organ for applying the name of the people to their acts, as the Attorney-General was the legal organ for applying the King's name. — No one, he ſaid, would venture to aſſert, that on the change of an Attorney-General the information filed in the name of the King could not be proceeded in. He conceived it to be equally abſurd to ſay, that becauſe the periſhable and changeable repreſentatives of all the Commons of England ſhould be diſſolved, the proceedings commenced in their name muſt drop. He had examined minutely into the queſtion, and could find no bar to the right of proceeding; he found precedents and principles for that claim; he found by analogy of law, by the courts of juſtice, and by great law-reporters, the right to proceed from parliament to parliament in an impeachment:—it was impoſſible, he ſaid, for the Houſe to be governed by the rules of the courts below; for the foundation of impeachments was to bring great offenders to juſtice, who would eſcape if ſubmitted to the rules of juriſprudence:—The rules of the courts were for the protection of individuals; impeachments for the protection of the public. He was convinced, that ſhould the doctrine be admitted, of impeachments abating with a diſſolution, the power and privileges of the Houſe would be totally loſt; for impeachments being in general exerciſed againſt men in power, the poſſibility of ſucceſsfully impeaching, might always be deſtroyed by a great ſtate delinquent adviſing and propoſing a diſſolution. He concluded by declaring his opinion to be, that in regard to their privileges, in reverence to the conſtitution, and for the public intereſt, he ſhould moſt heartily give his vote for the original motion.

The Maſter of the Rolls did not think the Rt Hon. Gentleman (Mr Pitt) had given ſufficient reaſons againſt going into an inquiry on the precedents. He ſaid, no impeachment prior to the preſent had ever continued more than one ſeſſion, and he hoped this impeachment would be the laſt of ſuch duration.

Mr Yorke ſaid, the queſtion had been argued ſo ably by the Rt Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it appeared to him, from principles of common ſenſe, that impeachments were not diſcontinued in conſequence of a diſſolution of parliament.

The Attorney-General reaſoned in ſupport of Mr Erſkine's motion, and contended, that if oppoſing the original queſtion was to abandon the privileges, ſure he was, it was to act agreeably to the law of the land.

Mr Pybus aſked, Of what uſe was the privilege of impeachment, if the monarch could thus unconſtitutionally interpoſe his prerogative, and ſecure from juſtice his abominable favourite? He thanked God the preſent were not the days of Charles II.

Mr Adam was for the original motion, which was combated by Mr Serjeant Watſon; after whom Mr Pitt, finding it grow very late, propoſed to adjourn the debate to the next day, which was immediately agreed to; and at half paſt two the Houſe broke up.

The debate on the impeachment being reſumed, Dec. 23. Col. Simcoe declared his opinion to be clear and deciſive that the impeachment was now pending. He formed his opinion from reaſon, not from precedents. Though, however, he thus declared his opinion to be in ſupport of the Rt Hon. Gentleman's (Mr Burke's) motion, he could not but diſagree with ſome part of his conduct on making the motion; he alluded to the menace held out to all who ſhould oppoſe it.

Mr Burke denied having held out a menace to any of them; he had declared, and he would again declare, that whoever ſtated his opinion to be, that the privileges of that Houſe were in the power of the Crown, directly or indirectly, he ſhould hold to be an enemy to the conſtitution. The Crown, he was happy to ſay, had not the power of nonſuiting all the Commons of Great Britain; the ſafety of the conſtitution was the whole law of the land, and reaſon dictated, that no law could exiſt contrary to it. He ſaid he had attentively liſten-

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ed to every thing that had been advanced for and againſt the queſtion. He was aſtoniſhed, he ſaid, that the lawyers of that Houſe had given no light or aid to the buſineſs, but had, on the contrary, rather thrown difficulties in the way. His Hon. friend (Mr Erſkine) had, however, reſolved the ſolution; he had on a former day declared that he was not at home in that Houſe: the ſame might be ſaid of all the lawyers, they conſidered themſelves but half at home in that Houſe, they conſidered it to be a place to perch upon, in their flight to another; here they reſted their tender pinions, ſtill fluttering to be gone with coronets in their eyes; here they took their early exerciſes to fight againſt us in another place, for which reaſon they were never forward to aſſert and maintain the privileges of the Commons;—they had their beſt bower caſt in the Houſe of Lords, and for that reaſon ever urged the Commons to go there in ſearch of their privileges; they conſidered the Houſe of Commons as a veſſel of conveyance, and themſelves the paſſengers; for which reaſon, with the Iriſhman, they were the leſs concerned for its ſafety: they locked up every information while they were ſojourners here, to make a more brilliant diſplay in the haven to which they were ſailing, and left the ſtruggle here to poor uninformed laymen. A Rt Hon. and learned Gentleman (the Maſter of the Rolls) had objected to the length of the impeachment: he was glad to hear for the firſt time from a chancery judge objections to delay. He ſaid, the right of the Commons to continue an impeachment from one parliament to another, had been admitted by each branch of the legiſlature. Charles II. and his Chancellor admitted it in 1678; and it was recognized by the Lords on the trial of Lord Stafford, whoſe counſel were not even admitted to diſpute it: a ſolemn judgement was the conſequence: and thus, he contended, was the right to proceed incontrovertibly admitted and eſtabliſhed. In the firſt year of the reign of James, an attempt had been made to reſcind the precedent of 1678, by entering on the Lord's journals a reſolution that impeachments did abate by diſſolution; but ſuch an arbitrary order of the Lords could not reſcind an act of the whole legiſlature and a ſolemn judgement. He juſtified the heat of the Commons againſt Lord Danby, who had ſold the dignity and honour of the Crown; ſuch crimes, he hoped, ever would occaſion great heat; he never knew a more fair and conſtitutional trial than Lord Danby's.

Mr Mitford ſaid, it was his opinion, that the principles of the conſtitution would be injured, if the committee ſhould reſolve that impeachments did not abate by a diſſolution. According to our conſtitution, all principle of action proceeded from the Crown; the earlieſt writers agreed, that all judicial power flowed from the Crown in particular and known channels. He was ready to admit, that during an impeachment the Commons had a complete control over it, and that the Lords could not give judgement unleſs the Commons prayed it. According, however, to the principles of the conſtitution, the Houſe of Commons had an end, and there was nothing in the conſtitution that could be conſtrued to give to the Houſe a power of reviſing in a new parliament the proceedings of the old one.

Mr Dundas contended, that the doctrine of an impeachment abating by a diſſolution, would admit the power of the Crown to deſtroy the privileges of the Lords and the Commons. In 1678, the right of continuing from parliament to parliament an impeachment had been recogniſed, acted up to, and ſealed with the blood of one of the firſt families in the kingdom. Our anceſtors had nobly maintained that right: he doubted not but their ſucceſſors would contend equally ſtrong for its preſervation. He had many precedents to ſhew undeniably the right, but that having been, in his opinion, already fully and ably proved by other gentlemen, he would not enter upon them; and where could be the neceſſity to go into a further inquiry, and particularly to the Lords journals? Our anceſtors were jealous of the leaſt hair-breadth innovations; were Gentlemen then ready on this occaſion to diſgrace themſelves by ſubmitting to ſearch in another place for their rights? He had no objection to ſearch for formalities, but would never ſubmit to ſearch in any other place than in that Houſe for the rights of the Houſe.

Sir John Scott (Solicitor-General) entered at great length into the argument. He contended, that by the diſſolution of parliament the impeachment was at an end, nothing in fact remained but the record;

cord; and of the proceedings of the ſame parliament nothing exiſted but a certain quantity of parchment and ſtationary. If the Houſe were to determine that an impeachment did not abate by a diſſolution, it went only to muzzle the lion of prerogative with a cobweb.

Mr Fox declared, that he never heard ſo much ſaid on any queſtion in that Houſe to ſo little purpoſe, or ſo inapplicable to the ſubject in debate. He then placed the arguments advanced by Mr Erſkine in a moſt clear point of view; and ſhewed, that his legal knowledge was not ſhort of the other powers which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh him as a ſtateſman and a ſcholar. In moſt of his points, he agreed with Mr Pitt; and the impeachment, he inſiſted, ought not to abate; if it did, the rights of that Houſe, the privileges of the people, and the conſtitution of the country, were for ever deſtroyed.

Mr Erſkine ſpoke in reply. He rejoiced that he had not forfeited the friendſhip of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr Fox) in conſequence of their difference on the queſtion before the Houſe.

Mr Burke explained. He meant not, he ſaid, to caſt any reflection upon the gentlemen of the law; for while the country held law as a requiſite eſſentially neceſſary to its good government, the profeſſors, if they continued to act uprightly, could not fail to be reſpected. He, however, ſincerely hoped the nation might be governed by law, and not by lawyers.

Mr Erſkine's motion, for the chairman's leaving the chair, was at length put, Ayes 30, Noes 143, majority 113 for the right of the Houſe to proceed in the impeachment. The Houſe roſe about three in the morning.

Declaration of his Moſt Catholic Majeſty.

[This declaration, which is dated at Aranjuez the 4th of June, and ſigned by the Comte de Florida Blanca, has been tranſmitted to all the courts of Europe.]

THE King being appriſed of the particulars laid before his miniſters on the 16th of May by Mr Merry, his Britannic Majeſty's miniſter, relative to the unexpected diſpute between this court and Great Britain, as to the veſſels captured in Port St Laurence, or Nootka Sound, on the coaſt of California, in the South Sea, has commanded the underſigned, his Majeſty's firſt ſecretary of ſtate, to anſwer to the ſaid miniſter of England, That he had the honour to make known perſonally, and in writing, to the ſaid miniſter, upon the 18th of the ſame month, that his Majeſty at no time pretended to any rights, in any ports, ſeas, or places, other than what belongs to his crown by the moſt ſolemn treaties, recogniſed by all nations, and more particularly with Great Britain, by a right founded on particular treaties, the uniform conſent of both nations, and by an immemorial, regular, and eſtabliſhed poſſeſſion: That his Majeſty is ready to enter upon every examination and diſcuſſion moſt likely to terminate the diſpute in an amicable way; and is willing to enter into immediate conference with the new ambaſſador, and if juſtice requires it, will certainly diſapprove of the conduct, and puniſh his ſubjects if they have gone beyond their powers. This offer and ſatisfaction will, it is hoped, ſerve as an example to the court of London to do as much on its part.

As the two courts of London and Madrid have not yet received proper and authenticated accounts and proofs of all that has really paſſed in theſe diſtant latitudes, a contradiction in the developement of facts has by this means been occaſioned. Even at this moment the papers and minutes made up by the Viceroy of New Spain on this matter are not arrived. Poſterior letters indeed ſay, that the Engliſh veſſel the Argonaut, had not been ſeized and confiſcated till legally condemned, and that the ſmall veſſel called the Princeſs Royal, which had afterwards arrived, was not ſeized or confiſcated, but that, on the contrary, full reſtitution was made by the Viceroy, and an obligation only taken from the captain to pay the price of the veſſel, if ſhe was declared a lawful prize; and on the preciſe ſame terms he had liberated a Portugueſe veſſel belonging to Macao, and two American veſſels. Theſe particulars will be more explicitly proved and elucidated on the arrival of the neceſſary papers.

The firſt time that our ambaſſador made a public notification of this matter to the miniſtry at London on the 10th of February laſt, many of the circumſtances that are now certain were then doubtful. The rights and immemorial poſſeſſion of Spain to that coaſt and ports, as well as ſeveral other titles proper to be taken into view in a pacific negotiation, were not quite

quite certain. And if the court of London had made an amicable return to the complaints made by his Majeſty relative to thoſe merchants whom Spain regards as uſurpers and the violators of treaties, and had ſhewed any deſire to terminate the affair by an amicable accommodation, a great deal of unneceſſary expence might have been ſaved. The high and menacing tone and manner in which the anſwer of the Britiſh miniſter was couched, at a time when no certain information of the particulars had arrived, made the Spaniſh cabinet entertain ſome ſuſpicions that it was made, not ſo much for the purpoſe of the diſpute in queſtion, but as a pretext to break entirely with our court; for which reaſon it was thought neceſſary to take ſome precautions relative to the ſubject.

On a late occaſion a complaint was made to the court of Ruſſia as to ſome ſimilar points relative to the navigation of the South Sea. A candid anſwer being returned by that court, the affair was terminated without the leaſt diſagreement. Indeed it may be aſſerted with truth, that the manner, much more than the ſubſtance of the facts, has produced the diſputes that have taken place on this head with Great Britain.

Nevertheleſs, the King does deny what the enemies to peace have induſtriouſly circulated, that Spain extends pretenſions and rights of ſovereignty over the whole of the South Sea, as far as China. When the words are made uſe of, "in name of the King, his ſovereignty, navigation, and excluſive commerce to the continent and iſlands of the South ſea," it is the manner in which Spain, in ſpeaking of the Indies, has always uſed theſe words—that is to ſay, to the continent, iſlands, and ſeas which belong to his Majeſty, ſo far as diſcoveries have been made and ſecured to him by treaties and immemorial poſſeſſion, and uniformly acquieſced in, notwithſtanding ſome infringement by individuals, who have been puniſhed upon a knowledge of their offences. And the King ſets up no pretenſions to any poſſeſſions, the right to which he cannot prove by irrefragable titles.

Although Spain may not have eſtabliſhments or colonies planted upon the coaſts or in the ports in diſpute, it does not follow that ſuch coaſt or port does not belong to her. If this rule were to be followed, any nation might eſtabliſh colonies on the coaſts of another nation, in America, Aſia, Africa, and Europe, by which means there would be no fixed boundaries—a circumſtance evidently abſurd.

But whatever may be the iſſue of the queſtion of right, upon a mature conſideration of the claims of both parties, the reſult of the queſtion of fact is, that the capture of the Engliſh veſſels is repaired by the reſtitution that has been made, and the conduct of the Viceroy; for as to the qualification of ſuch reſtitution, and whether the prize was lawful or not, that reſpects the queſtion of right yet to be inveſtigated; that is to ſay, if it has been agreeably to, or in contradiction to treaties relative to the rights and poſſeſſions of Spain. Laſtly, the King will readily enter into any plan by which future diſputes on this ſubject may be obviated, that no reproach may be upon him as having refuſed any means of reconciliation; and for the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and permanent peace, not only between Spain and Great Britain, but alſo between all nations; for the accompliſhment of which object his Majeſty has made the greateſt efforts in all the Courts of Europe; which he certainly would not have done if he had any deſign to involve England and the other European powers in a calamitous and deſtructive war.

Given at Aranjuez the 4th day of June 1790.

LE COMTE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

For further papers upon this ſubject, ſee September Magazine, p. 417.

NEW BOOKS.

De l'état de la France, preſent et à venir: Conſiderations on the preſent and future ſtate of France. By M. de Calonne, miniſter of ſtate. 8vo. 6s. boards. Spilſbury.

IF the ſituation of France be intereſting, ſo alſo muſt be this important publication; which, examining into the difficulties formerly ſuſtained by that kingdom, compares them with its preſent ills; which places the meaſures that were propoſed for its relief, in oppoſition to thoſe that have been adopted; and which, looking forward to the reſult, contraſts the probable event with that which might have been expected. On theſe heads, whatever may be the value of M. de Calonne's private ſentiments and political reaſonings, we muſt allow that his information

formation is extenſive, and likely to be true.

In his introduction, M. de Calonne enters into a juſtification of his publiſhing his ſentiments. He aſks, whether it can be ſuppoſed that any particular wiſh for deſpotiſm could have guided his pen? he doubts that any one ever poſſeſſed ſuch a wiſh, unleſs he were perſonally intereſted in the event: nor can it be imagined, he adds, that, enjoying an aſylum afforded him by a free people, among whom he has reſolved to end his days, he can entertain a deſire to ſee his country in ſlavery.—The author, from his intimate connection with the ſubject on which he treats, too often becomes a party in the cauſe. Inſtead of the cool reaſoner, we have the ardent and intereſted abettor. His partiality to men is equally evident; he is the determined antagoniſt of one ſide, and the warm panegyriſt of the other; and while he expatiates on the happineſs which would have attended the meaſures that he recommends, he deſcribes, with every poſſible exaggeration, the few ſcenes of bloodſhed and miſery which have accompanied the preſent revolution. The miſery that has been produced, and the blood that has been ſhed, may perhaps be urged as giving a ſanction to M. de Calonne's ſentiments, which are moderate, and, in general, not unfavourable to liberty; but it is a bad plea for thoſe who, by multiplying grievances, forced the people to reſiſtance; for to whom are the ills chargeable? Not to the people who actually commit them, but to thoſe who impel them to the commitment.

The grand intention of this work is, to inquire into what has been done in the National Aſſembly of France, and to ſhew the dangerous conſequences which either have reſulted, or are likely to reſult, from their proceedings. The author next endeavours to point out the mode which ought to have been followed; and which alone, if now adopted, can, in his opinion, enſure their proſperity.

The finances of France, he ſays, are ſo much injured in conſequence of the ſpeculations and decrees of the National Aſſembly, that they can never be reſtored, unleſs a totally different ſyſtem is adopted. The following is his general ſtatement of the ancient and preſent deficiency.

	Livres.
Increaſed expenditure,	155,770,000
Reductions,	75,476,000
Increaſed expence,	80,294,000
Diminution of revenue,	119,200,000
Additional deficiency, compoſed of theſe two ſums,	199,494,000
Former deficiency,	56,230,000
Total preſent deficiency,	255,724,000

He thus ſtates the national debt:

	Livres.
In the beginning of 1787, it was -	3,020,000,000
According to the committee of finances, the preſent debt is -	4,241,000,000
Increaſe according to them,	1,221,000,000
According to M. de Calonne, -	1,255,000,000

By theſe ſtatements, it appears that there is an increaſe of debt of above 1200 millions, and an annual deficiency of 250 millions.

Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution concluded. [p. 593.]

TO prove how far from elective is the crown of Great Britain, Mr Burke thus reaſons:

"Unqueſtionably there was at the Revolution, in the perſon of King William, a ſmall and a temporary deviation from the ſtrict order of a regular hereditary ſucceſſion; but it is againſt all genuine principles of juriſprudence, to draw a principle from a law made in a ſpecial caſe, and regarding an individual perſon. *Privilegium non tranſit in exemplum.* If ever there was a time favourable for eſtabliſhing the principle, that a king of popular choice was the only legal king, without all doubt it was at the Revolution. Its not being done at that time, is a proof that the nation was of opinion it ought not to be done at any time. There is no perſon ſo completely ignorant of our hiſtory as not to know, that the majority in parliament, of both parties, were ſo little diſpoſed to any thing reſembling that principle, that at firſt they were determined to place the vacant crown, not on the head of the Prince of Orange, but on that of his wife Mary, daughter of King James, the eldeſt born of the iſſue of that king, which they acknowledged as undoubtedly his. It would

would be to repeat a very trite ſtory, to recal to your memory all thoſe circumſtances which demonſtrated that their accepting King William was not properly a *choice*; but to all thoſe who did not wiſh, in effect, to recal King James, or to deluge their country in blood, and again to bring their religion, laws, and liberties into the peril they had juſt eſcaped, it was an act of *neceſſity*, in the ſtricteſt moral ſenſe in which neceſſity can be taken.—The ſucceſſion of the crown has always been what it now is, an hereditary ſucceſſion by law; in the old line it was a ſucceſſion by the common law, in the new by the ſtatute-law, operating on the principles of the common law, not changing the ſubſtance, but regulating the mode, and deſcribing the perſons."

Mr Burke thus paints the conformation of the Britiſh conſtitution:

"The people of England well know, that the idea of inheritance furniſhes a ſure principle of conſervation, and a ſure principle of tranſmiſſion, without at all excluding a principle of improvement. It leaves acquiſition free; but it ſecures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a ſtate proceeding on theſe maxims, are locked faſt, as in a ſort of family-ſettlement, graſped as in a kind of mortmain for ever. By a conſtitutional policy working after the pattern of nature, we receive, we hold, we tranſmit our government and our privileges, in the ſame manner in which we enjoy and tranſmit our property and our lives. The inſtitutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of Providence, are handed down to us and from us, in the ſame courſe and order. Our political ſyſtem is placed in a juſt correſpondence and ſymmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of exiſtence decreed to a permanent body compoſed of tranſitory parts, wherein, by the diſpoſition of a ſtupendous wiſdom, moulding together the great myſterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but, in a condition of unchangeable conſtancy, moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progreſſion. Thus, by preſerving the method of nature in the conduct of the ſtate, in what we improve we are never wholly new, in what we retain we are never wholly obſolete. By adhering in this manner, and on thoſe principles, to our forefathers, we are guided, not by the ſuperſtition of antiquaries, but by the ſpirit of philoſophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the conſtitution of our country with our deareſt domeſtic ties; adopting our fundamental laws into the boſom of our family affections; keeping inſeparable, and cheriſhing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually-reflected charities, our ſtate, our hearths, our ſepulchres, and our altars.

Through the ſame plan of a conformity to nature in our artificial inſtitutions, and by calling in the aid of her unerring and powerful inſtincts, to fortify the fallible and feeble contrivances of our reaſon, we have derived ſeveral other, and thoſe no ſmall benefits, from conſidering our liberties in the light of an inheritance. Always acting as if in the preſence of canonized forefathers, the ſpirit of freedom, leading in itſelf to miſrule and exceſs, is tempered with an aweful gravity. This idea of a liberal deſcent inſpires us with a ſenſe of habitual native dignity, which prevents that upſtart inſolence almoſt inevitably adhering to, and diſgracing thoſe who are the firſt acquirers of any diſtinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an impoſing and majeſtic aſpect. It has a pedigree, and illuſtrating anceſtors. It has its bearings, and its enſigns armorial. It has its gallery of portraits; its monumental inſcriptions; its records, evidences, and titles. We procure reverence to our civil inſtitutions, on the principle upon which Nature teaches us to revere individual men, on account of their age, and on account of thoſe from whom they are deſcended. All your ſophiſters cannot produce any thing better adapted to preſerve a rational and manly freedom than the courſe that we have purſued, who have choſen our nature rather than our ſpeculations, our breaſts rather than our inventions, for the great conſervatories and magazines of our rights and privileges."

Nor is his contraſt of the preſent ſtate of France leſs warm:

"Compute your gains: ſee what is got by thoſe extravagant and preſumptuous ſpeculations, which have taught your leaders to deſpiſe all their predeceſſors, and all their contemporaries, and even to deſpiſe themſelves, until the moment in

which they became truly deſpicable. By following thoſe falſe lights, France has bought undiſguiſed calamities at a higher price than any nation has purchaſed the moſt unequivocal bleſſings! France has bought poverty by crime! France has not ſacrificed her virtue to her intereſt; but ſhe has abandoned her intereſt, that ſhe might proſtitute her virtue. All other nations have begun the fabric of a new government, or the reformation of an old, by eſtabliſhing originally, or by enforcing with greater exactneſs, ſome rites or other of religion. All other people have laid the foundations of civil freedom in ſeverer manners, and a ſyſtem of a more auſtere and maſculine morality. France, when ſhe let looſe the reins of regal authority, doubled the licence of a ferocious diſſoluteneſs in manners, and of an inſolent irreligion in opinions and practices; and has extended through all ranks of life, as if ſhe were communicating ſome privilege, or laying open ſome ſecluded benefit, all the unhappy corruptions that uſually were the diſeaſe of wealth and power. This is one of the new principles of equality in France.

France, by the perfidy of her leaders, has utterly diſgraced the tone of lenient council in the cabinets of princes, and diſarmed it of its moſt potent topics. She has ſanctified the dark ſuſpicious maxims of tyrannous diſtruſt, and taught kings to tremble at (what will hereafter be called) the deluſive plauſibilities of moral politicians. Sovereigns will conſider thoſe who adviſe them to place an unlimited confidence in their people, as ſubverters of their thrones, as traitors, who aim at their deſtruction, by leading their eaſy good-nature, under ſpecious pretences, to admit combinations of bold and faithleſs men into a participation of their power. This alone (if there were nothing elſe) is an irreparable calamity to you and to mankind. Remember that your Parliament of Paris told your King, that in calling the ſtates together he had nothing to fear, but the prodigal exceſs of their zeal in providing for the ſupport of the throne. It is right that theſe men ſhould hide their heads. It is right that they ſhould bear their part in the ruin which their counſel has brought on their ſovereign and their country. Such ſanguine declarations tend to lull authority aſleep; to encourage it raſhly to engage in perilous adventures of untried policy; to neglect thoſe proviſions, preparations, and precautions, which diſtinguiſh benevolence from imbecillity; and without which no man can anſwer for the ſalutary effect of any abſtract plan of government or of freedom. For want of theſe, they have ſeen the medicine of the ſtate converted into its poiſon. They have ſeen the French rebel againſt a mild and lawful monarch, with more fury, outrage, and inſult, than ever any people has been known to riſe againſt the moſt illegal uſurper, or the moſt ſanguinary tyrant. Their reſiſtance was made to conceſſion; their revolt was from protection; their blow was aimed at an hand holding out graces, favours, and immunities.

This was unnatural. The reſt is in order. They have found their puniſhment in their ſucceſs. Laws overturned; tribunals ſubverted; induſtry without vigour; commerce expiring; the revenue unpaid, yet the people impoveriſhed; a church pillaged, and a ſtate not relieved; civil and military anarchy made the conſtitution of the kingdom; every thing human and divine ſacrificed to the idol of public credit, and national bankruptcy the conſequence; and, to crown all, the paper-ſecurities of new, precarious, tottering power, the diſcredited paper-ſecurities of impoveriſhed fraud, and beggared rapine, held out as a currency for the ſupport of an empire, in lieu of the two great recogniſed ſpecies that repreſent the laſting conventional credit of mankind, which diſappeared, and hid themſelves in the earth from whence they came, when the principle of property, whoſe creatures and repreſentatives they are, was ſyſtematically ſubverted."

The majority of the members of the National Aſſembly who attended are compoſed of *practitioners of the law*; the two lower ranks of whom are either not much eſteemed, or held in a very low degree of repute; however thoſe who united to their profeſſional offices great family ſplendour might be highly reſpected, and even with no ſmall degree of awe. The reſt of the Aſſembly were country-clowns, unable to write or read, traders, phyſical perſons, and dealers in ſtocks and funds. "Such was, in general, the compoſition of the *Tiers Etat* in the National Aſſembly; in which was ſcarcely to be perceived the ſlighteſt traces of what we call the natural landed intereſt of the country. Suppoſing the Britiſh Houſe of

of Commons ſhould be compoſed in the ſame manner, would this dominion of chicane be borne with patience, or even conceived without horror?" — "The power of the Houſe of Commons is indeed great; and long may it preſerve its greatneſs, and the ſpirit belonging to true greatneſs, at the full! And it will do ſo as long as it *can keep the breakers of the law in India from becoming the makers of the law in England.*—The power, however, of the Houſe of Commons, when leaſt diminiſhed, is as a drop of water in the ocean, compared to that reſiding in a ſettled majority of your National Aſſembly. That Aſſembly, ſince the deſtruction of the orders, has no fundamental law, no ſtrict convention, no reſpected uſage to reſtrain it. Inſtead of finding themſelves obliged to conform to a fixed conſtitution, they have a power to make a conſtitution which ſhall conform to their deſigns. Nothing in heaven, or upon earth, can ſerve as a controul on them. What ought to be the heads, the hearts, the diſpoſitions, that are qualified, or that dare, not only to make laws under a fixed conſtitution, but at one heat to ſtrike out a totally new conſtitution for a great kingdom, and in every part of it, from the monarch on the throne to the veſtry of a pariſh? But—*fools ruſh in where angels fear to tread.* In ſuch a ſtate of unbounded power, for undefined and undefinable purpoſes, the evil of a moral and almoſt phyſical inaptitude of the man to the function, muſt be the greateſt we can conceive to happen in the management of human affairs."

Mr Burke's picture of the preſent government of France: "It is ſaid, that twenty-four millions ought to prevail over two hundred thouſand. True; if the conſtitution of a kingdom be a problem of arithmetic. This ſort of diſcourſe does well enough with the lamp-poſt for its ſecond: to men who *may* reaſon calmly, it is ridiculous. The will of the many, and their intereſt, muſt very often differ; and great will be the difference when they make an evil choice. A government of five hundred country-attornies and obſcure curates is not good for twenty-four millions of men, though it were choſen by eight and forty millions; nor is it the better for being guided by a dozen perſons of quality, who have betrayed their truſt in order to obtain that power. At preſent, you ſeem in every thing to have ſtrayed out of the high road of Nature. The property of France does not govern it. Of courſe property is deſtroyed, and rational liberty has no exiſtence. All you have got for the preſent is a paper circulation, and a ſtock-jobbing conſtitution: and as to the future, do you ſeriouſly think that the territory of France, upon the republican ſyſtem of eighty-three independent municipalities, (to ſay nothing of the parts that compoſe them), can ever be governed as one body, or can ever be ſet in motion by the impulſe of one mind? When the National Aſſembly has completed its work, it will have accompliſhed its ruin. Theſe commonwealths will not long bear a ſtate of ſubjection to the republic of Paris. They will not bear that this one body ſhould monopolize the captivity of the King, and the dominion over the aſſembly calling itſelf National. Each will keep its own portion of the ſpoil of the church to itſelf; and it will not ſuffer either that ſpoil, or the more juſt fruits of their induſtry, or the natural produce of their ſoil, to be ſent to ſwell the inſolence, or pamper the luxury, of the mechanics of Paris. In this they will ſee none of the equality, under the pretence of which they have been tempted to throw off their allegiance to their ſovereign, as well as the ancient conſtitution of their country. There can be no capital city in ſuch a conſtitution as they have lately made. They have forgot, that when they framed democratic governments, they had virtually diſmembered their country. The perſon whom they perſevere in calling King has not power left to him by the hundredth part ſufficient to hold together this collection of republics. The republic of Paris will endeavour indeed to complete the debauchery of the army, and illegally to perpetuate the aſſembly, without reſort to its conſtituents, as the means of continuing its deſpotiſm. It will make efforts, by becoming the heart of a boundleſs paper-circulation, to draw every thing to itſelf; but in vain. All this policy, in the end, will appear as feeble as it is now violent."

After vindicating the eſtabliſhment of the church of England, Mr Burke deſcants on the confiſcation of the church-revenues in France, amounting to five millions, in order to make up a deficiency of 2,200,000 l. according to Mr Neckar's report; a confiſcation, he ſays, which exceeded the Roman proſcriptions,

and the deſtruction of religious houſes by our Henry VIII. He warmly reprobates the degradation of the nobility and clergy; draws a flattering character of the late eccleſiaſtics, and paints their ſucceſſors, and the new plan of *civic education*; takes a view of what the Aſſembly has done with regard to the conſtitution of the legiſlative and the executive power, their plan of judicature, the modelling of the army, and the ſyſtem of finance. On this laſt ſubject, it appears by a report of M. Vernier from the committee of finances of Auguſt laſt, that the amount of the national revenue, as compared with its produce before the Revolution, was diminiſhed by the ſum of 200 millions, or 8 millions Sterling, of the annual income, conſiderably more than one third of the whole. "If this be the reſult of great ability, never ſurely was ability diſplayed in a more diſtinguiſhed manner, or with ſo powerful an effect. No common folly, no vulgar incapacity, no ordinary official negligence, even no official crime, no corruption, no peculation, hardly any direct hoſtility which we have ſeen in the modern world, could in ſo ſhort a time have made ſo complete an overthrow of the finances, and, with them, of the ſtrength of a great kingdom." Having decried the ancient conſtitution of the revenue in many of its moſt eſſential branches, they had recourſe to benevolence. "This ricketty offſpring of weakneſs was to be ſupported by another reſource, the twin-brother of the ſame proliſic imbecillity. The patriotic donations were to make good the failure of the patriotic contributions."

"As to their other ſchemes of taxation, it is impoſſible to ſay any thing of them with certainty, becauſe they have not yet had their operation; but no body is ſo ſanguine as to imagine they will fill up any perceptible part of the wide-gaping breach which their incapacity has made in their revenues. At preſent, the ſtate of their treaſury ſinks every day more and more in caſh, and ſwells more and more in fictitious repreſentation. When ſo little, within or without, is now found but paper, the repreſentative, not of opulence but of want, the creature, not of credit but of power, they imagine that our flouriſhing ſtate in England is owing to that bank-paper, and not the bank-paper to the flouriſhing condition of our commerce, to the ſolidity of our credit, and to the total excluſion of all idea of power from any part of the tranſaction. They forget that, in England, not one ſhilling of paper-money, of any deſcription, is received but of choice; that the whole has had its origin in caſh actually depoſited; and that it is convertible at pleaſure, in an inſtant, and without the ſmalleſt loſs, into caſh again. Our paper is of value in commerce, becauſe in law it is of none. It is powerful on 'Change, becauſe in Weſtminſter-hall it is impotent. In payment of a debt of twenty ſhillings, a creditor may refuſe all the paper of the Bank of England. Nor is there amongſt us a ſingle public ſecurity, of any quality or nature whatſoever, that is enforced by authority. In fact, it might be eaſily ſhewn, that our paper-wealth, inſtead of leſſening the real coin, has a tendency to increaſe it; inſtead of being a ſubſtitute for money, it only facilitates its entry, its exit, and its circulation; that it is the ſymbol of proſperity, and not the badge of diſtreſs. Never was a ſcarcity of caſh, and an exuberance of paper, a ſubject of complaint in this nation."

Mr Burke thus concludes this celebrated performance: "I have little to recommend my opinions, but long obſervation, and much impartiality. They come from one who has been no tool of power, no flatterer of greatneſs, and who in his laſt acts does not wiſh to belie the tenor of his life. They come from one, almoſt the whole of whoſe public exertion has been a ſtruggle for the liberty of others; from one in whoſe breaſt no anger durable or vehement has ever been kindled, but by what he conſidered as tyranny; and who ſnatches from his ſhare in the endeavours which are uſed by good men to diſcredit opulent oppreſſion, the hours he has employed on your affairs; and who in ſo doing perſuades himſelf he has not departed from his uſual office: they come from one who deſires honours, diſtinctions, and emoluments, but little; and who expects them not at all; who has no contempt for fame, and no fear of obloquy; who ſhuns contention, though he will hazard an opinion: from one who wiſhes to preſerve conſiſtency, but who would preſerve conſiſtency by varying his means to ſecure the unity of his end; and, when the equipoiſe of the veſſel in which he ſails may be endangered by overloading it upon one ſide, is deſirous of carrying the ſmall weight of his reaſons to that which may preſerve its equipoiſe."

Earl

Frigates & Command.	G.	M.	Stations.	Ships.	Guns	Men	Commanders.
La Prudente, Capt. H. Trollope	36	240	Van Squadron, under the Commander in the 2d Post. — 2d or Larb. Div. | 1st or Starb. Div.	Brunſwick,	74	650	Sir Hyde Parker.
				Marlborough,	74	650	Samuel Corniſh.
Spitfire, fire-ſhip, R. Watſon		80		Barfleur,	90	767	Sir John Jervis, K. B. R.-Adm. of Blue. Robert Calder.
Hind, Hon. A. Cochrane	28	200		Hannibal,	74	650	John Colpoys.
				Coloſſus,	74	650	H. C. Chriſtian.
				1 Bombay Caſtle,	74	650	J. T. Duckworth.
				Edgar,	74	650	Ja. A. P. Molloy.
Creſcent *, W. Young	36	240		Royal George,	100	872	Hon. S. Barrington, Adm. of Blue. Thomas Pringle.
				Bedford,	74	650	Robert Man.
Speedwell, cutter,	10	60		Bellona,	74	650	F. J. Hartwell.
				Alcide,	74	650	Sir Andrew S. Douglas.
La Nymph, Geo. Campbell	36	240	Centre Squadron, under the Commander in Chief. — 1st or Starb. Div.	2 Victory,	100	872	John Knight.
				Courageaux,	74	650	Alan Gardner.
Roebuck, ſtore-ſh. J. May		150		Gibraltar,	80	650	S. C. Goodall.
				Formidable,	90	750	Hon. K. Stewart.
Iphigenia *, P. Sinclair	32	220		Q. Charlotte,	100	882	Earl Howe, Adm. of Fleet, Commander in Chief. R. Adm. Hon. J. L. Gower. Sir Roger Curtis.
Oreſtes, N. Ingram	18	100					
				Valiant,	74	650	R. H. Duke of Clarence.
				Egmont,	74	600	Charles Hope.
				Arrogant,	74	600	John Harvey.
Latona, A. Bertie	38	240	2d or Larb. Div.	Princeſs Royal,	90	767	W. Hotham, R.-Adm. of Red. J. Holloway.
				3 Illuſtrious,	74	600	A. Edgar.
				Cumberland,	74	600	J. M'Bride.
				Vengeance,	74	600	Sir Thomas Rich.
Hebe *, A. Hood	38	240	Rear Squadron, under the Commander in the 3d Poſt. — 1st or Starb. Div.	London,	90	772	Sir Alexander Hood, K. B. Vice Adm. of Blue. W. Domet.
Drake, R. Bultul	14	100		Saturn,	74	600	Robert Linzee.
				Culloden,	74	600	Henry Collins.
				Director,	64	500	T. Weſt.
				4 Orion,	74	600	C. Chamberlayne.
Minerva, R. M. Sutton	38	240	2d or Larb. Div.				
Tiſiphone, Hon. H. Curzon	16	100		Impregnable,	90	767	Sir R. Bickerton, R.-Adm. of Blue. Sir Thomas Byard.
Huſſar, Eliab Harvey	28	200		Magnificent,	74	600	Rich. Onſlow.
				Carnatic,	74	650	John Ford.

Starboard Diviſion of the Fleet.

Larboard Diviſion of the Fleet.

N. B. The Frigates marked thus *, repeated ſignals.

Obſervations.] The ſeveral flag-officers are to have the particular ſuperintendance and conduct of the diviſions reſpectively in which their ſhips are placed in the order of battle, but ſubject to the general direction of the commanders of the ſquadron to which they belong. The ſhips are to cloſe to the proper diſtance from the next leading ſhips a-head of them, in place of thoſe detached, and are not preſent with the fleet, in order of battle or of ſailing, and the ſenior flag-officer remaining with either diviſion or ſquadron, is to have the charge thereof for the time being, in the abſence of any other diviſional commander.

The vacant places marked 1. 2. 3. 4. were to be filled up as follows when the ſhips joined the fleet.

1 Lion,	64	Hon. Seymour Finch.
2 Elephant,	74	C. Thompſon.
3 Vanguard,	74	Sir A. S. Hamond.
4 Royal Sovereign,	100	J. Houlton.

Guardſhips in England May 1. 1790.

At Portſmouth.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Barfleur	90	Ro. Roddam, V. A. of the Red. Capt. R. Calder.
Bedford	74	R. Man.
Bellona	74	F. J. Hartwell.
Coloſſus	74	H. C. Chriſtian.
Edgar	74	A. Ja. Pye Molloy
Golliah	74	Sir An. S. Douglas.
Magnificent	74	Rich. Onſlow.

At Plymouth.

Impregnable	90	Sir Rich. Bickerton, R. A. of the Blue. Capt. Sir Thomas Byard.
Bombay Caſtle	74	J. T. Duckworth.
Cumberland	74	J. M'Bride.
Orion	74	C. Chamberlayne.
Carnatic	74	J. Ford.
Culloden	74	H. Colins.
Director	64	T. Weſt.

In the Medway.

Arrogant	74	J. Harvey.
Scipio	64	T. Paſley.

Excluſive of frigates and ſloops.

Ships put in commiſſion from May 6. *to Sept.* 20

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Queen Charlotte	100	Sir R. Curtis
Royal George	100	T. Pringle
Victory	100	J. Knight
Royal Sovereign	100	J. Houlton
Formidable	90	Hon K. Stewart
Duke	90	R. Kingſmill
Glory	90	J. Aylmer
London	90	W. Domet
Prince	90	J. Rogers
St George	90	Sir Geo. Collier
Barfleur	90	R. Calder
Boyne	90	Geo Bowyer
Windſor caſtle	90	Sir Ja. Barclay
Sandwich	90	T. Tonken
Royal William	84	Geo. Gayton
Cambridge	80	Wm Locker
Gibraltar	80	S. G. Goodall
Alexander	74	Ja. Pigott
Bellerophon	74	T. Paſley
Berwick	74	B. Caldwell
Brunſwick	74	Sir Hyde Parker
Canada	74	Hon. H. S. Conway
Captain	74	A. Dickſon
Courageux	74	A. Gardner
Defence	74	Geo. Murray
Egmont	74	C. Hope
Elephant	74	C. Thompſon
Excellent	74	J. Gell
Fame	74	Hon. R. Stopford
Hannibal	74	J. Colpoys
Hector	74	Geo. Montagu
Illuſtrious	74	A. Edgar
Leviathan	74	Lord Mulgrave
Marlborough	74	S. Corniſh
Monarch	74	P. Rainier
Powerful	74	T. Mackenzie
Robuſt	74	Row. Cotton
Saturn	74	R. Linzee
Swiftſure	74	Sir Ja. Wallace
Valiant	74	D. of Clarence
Vanguard	74	Sir A. S. Hamond
Vengeance	74	Sir T. Rich
Ardent	64	Ja. Vaſhon
Aſia	64	A. Mitchell
Dictator	64	Rd R. Bligh
Lion	64	Hon. S. Finch
Naſſau	64	A. Sutherland
Raiſonable	64	J. Saumarez
Scipio	64	Ed. Thornborough
Aſſiſtance	50	Lord Cranſtoun
Meduſa	50	J. N. Inglefield
Leopard *	50	J. Blanket
Arethuſa	38	J. Stanhope
Latona	38	R. Bertie
Minerva	38	R. M. Sutton
Thetis	38	J. Markham
Aigle	36	Lord C. Fitzgerald
Creſcent	36	William Young
Hebe	36	A. Hood
Inconſtant	36	Geo. Wilſon
Melampus	36	C. M. Pole
La Nymphe	36	Geo. Campbell
La Prudente	36	H. Trollope
Romulus	36	T. L. Frederick
Andromeda	32	J. Saliſbury
Blanche	32	R. Murray
Blonde	32	William Affleck
Caſtor	32	J. S. Smith
Diana	32	J. M. Ruſſell
Brune	32	D. Gould
Druid	32	Joſ. Elliſon
Iphigenia	32	P. Sinclair
Iris	32	T. Wills
Juno	32	S. Hood
Loweſtoffe	32	E. Dodd
Mermaid	32	Cuth. Collingwood
Meleager	32	N. Brunton
Niger	32	T. Farnham
Pearl	32	A. C. Courtenay
Southampton	32	R. G. Keats
Syren	32	J. Manley
Thames	32	T. Troubridge
Winchelſea	32	Hon. C. Carpenter
Alligator	28	J. Coffin
Aurora	28	J. Sutton
Cyclops	28	J. Coates
Circe	28	George Oakes
Hind	28	Hon. A. F. Cochrane
Huſſar	28	E. Harvey
Lapwing	28	Paget Bayley
Lizard	28	J. Hutt
Triton	28	G. Murray, 2d

Roſe

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Commanders,*
Roſe	28	J. Waller	Speedy	14	J. Maude
Thiſbe	28	R. George	Swan	14	H. Warre
Pandora *	24	E. Edwards	Thorn	16	W. Tyler
Daphne	20	Ja. Kinneir	Waſp	16	J. R. Moſſe
Sphynx	20	G. Tripp	Fury	16	V. C. Berkeley
Chiders	14	R. Incledon	Conflagration fire-ſh.	14	G. Briſac
Fortune	16	G. B. Weſtcott	Pluto fire-ſh.	14	J. Langhorne
Hound	16	M. J. Lawford	Tiſiphone fire-ſh.	14	Hon. H. Curzon
Shark	16	J. Dilkes	Vulcan fire-ſh.	14	C. Boyles
Scout	14	C. Cobb	Spitfire fire-ſh.	14	R. Watſon

* *Since Sailed for the South Seas, ſuppoſed to be for Nootka Sound.*

Ships put in Commiſſion ſince Oct. 21. 1790.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Queen Charlotte	100	H. C. Chriſtian.	Africa	64	J. Kempthorne.
Royal Sovereign	100	Wm Domett.	America	64	J. Macnamara.
Britannia	100	J. Doling.	Heroine	32	William Lord Roſehill.
Formidable	98	Wm Parker.	Loweſtoffe	32	Hon. R. Stopford.
London	90	G. B. Weſtcott.	Quebec	32	Hon. J. Rodney.
Barfleur	90	B. C. Reynolds.	Orpheus	32	J. Trigge.
Gibraltar	80	J. Dilkes.	Dido	28	E. Buller.
Canada	74	Er. Gower.	Hyæna	24	J. Aylmer.
Alfred	74	T. Weſt.	Bonetta	16	W. H. Rickets.
Coloſſus	74	H. Harvey.	Fly	16	J. Drew.
Mariborough	74	C. Craven.	Helena	14	J. Woodly
Fame	74	Wm Truſcott.	Martin	14	Geo. Duff.
Majeſtic	74	Hon. W. Waldegrave.	Savage	16	J. Dickenſon.
Tremendous	74	Hon. Geo. Berkeley.	Scorpion	16	Sir C. Hamilton.
Warrior	74	Hon. W. C. Finch.	Swallow	16	W. Hargood.
Agamemnon	64	Richard Filher.	Scout	16	—— Elphinſtone.
Director	64	Ed. Dodd.	Serpent	16	Geo. Gregory.
Ruby	64	Sir John Collins.	Trimmer	16	F. Fayerman.
Stately	64	R. Calder.	Zebra	16	Hon. R. Forbes.

Flag-Officers employed, and where ſtationed, in October 1790.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Captains.*	*Stations.*
Saliſbury	50	V. A. Milbank,	Capt. E. Pellew.	Newfoundland.
Adamant	50	V. A. Sir Rd Hughes,	Capt. David Knox.	N. America.
Crown	64	Comm. Hon. W. Cornwallis,	Capt Ja. Cornwallis.	E. Indies.
Truſty	50	R. A. Sir John Laforey,	Capt. J. Drew.	Leeward Iſlands.
Centurion	50	R. A. Ph. Affleck,	Capt. W. A. Otway.	Jamaica.
Mariborough	74	R. A. S. Corniſh,	Capt. Cha. Craven. for	Barbadoes.
Royal William	84	V. A. Roddam,	Capt. Geo. Gayton.	Portſmouth.
Cambridge	80	V. A. Graves,	Capt W. Locker.	Plymouth.
Dictator	64	R. A. Sir Richard King,	Capt. R. R. Bligh.	Downs.
Sandwich	90	R. A. Dalrymple,	Capt. T. Tonken.	Nore.
Fame	74	R. A. Coſby,	Capt. W. Truſcott.	Corke
Queen Charlotte	100	Adm. Earl Howe	Capt. Sir R. Curtis. / H. C. Chriſtian.	Spithead.
Royal George	100	Adm. Hon. S. Barrington.	Capt. T. Pringle.	Spithead.
Royal Sovereign	100	Vice-Adm. Sir A. Hood.	Capt. W. Domett.	Spithead.
Barfleur	90	Vice-Adm. Elliot.	Capt. R. C. Reynolds.	Spithead.
Princeſs Royal	90	Vice-Adm. Hotham.	Capt. J. Holloway.	Spithead.
Windſor Caſtle	90	Rear-Adm. Sawyer	Capt. Sir Ja. Barclay.	Spithead.
Impregnable	90	Rear-Adm. Sir R. Bickerton.	Capt. Sir T. Byard.	Spithead.
Illuſtrious	74	Rear-Adm Hon. J. L. Gower.	Capt. A. Edgar.	Spithead.
Prince	90	Rear Adm. Sir J. Jervis.	Capt. Joſ. Rogers.	Spithead.
Gibraltar	80	Rear-Adm. Houlton	Capt. Dilkes.	Spithead.
London	90	Rear-Adm. Goodall.	Capt. B. Weſtcott.	Spithead.

Abſtract

Abſtract of the Britiſh Navy.

In Commiſſion.	Line.	50 G.	Frigates.	Sloop
Spithead and Plymouth,	48		11	8
Downs and North Seas,			1	4
Weſt Indies and on the paſſage,		1	7	
Jamaica,		1	1	5
America and Newfoundland,		2	4	3
Eaſt Indies,	1		3	2
Botany Bay,				2
Gibraltar, and Mediterranean,		1	5	1
Sailed with ſealed orders,		3	5	2
Guard ſhips hoſpital ſhips, &c.	8		1	2
Fitting at Portſmouth,	9		3	2
——— Plymouth,	1		1	1
——— Chatham and Sheerneſs,	7		5	1
——— Woolwich and Deptford,	1		3	6
Engliſh and Iriſh Channels			19	25
Tranſports armed *en flute*,			13	
Total in commiſſion, 229,	75	8	82	64
In Ordinary.				
At Portſmouth,	26	2	7	12
Plymouth,	22	2	7	6
Chatham,	18	5	18	8
Sheerneſs,	6	1	3	5
Woolwich and Deptford,		1	16	6
Total in ordinary and commiſſion, 400, viz.	147	19	133	101
Building,	9	1	1	2
Total Navy, 413, viz.	156	20	134	103

Abſtract of the Spaniſh Navy.

In Commiſſion.	Line.	Frigates.	Sloop
In Cadiz Bay Sept. 23.	43	21	8
At the Havanna,	6	6	1
— Carthagena,		1	1
— Buenos Ayres,		7	2
Sailed on a voyage of diſcoveries.			2
Sailed for Ceuta,	2	1	1
Total in commiſſion 102 viz.	51	36	15
Not in Commiſſion,	25	33	*
Total 160. viz.	76	69	15

* *Not known.*

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

[*Several poſtponed articles are now inſerted.*]

SPAIN.

Madrid, Oct. 14. Advices have been received here, mentioning that the city of Oran, on the coaſt of Africa, has been almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a violent earthquake, and that a conſiderable part of its inhabitants, as well as of the Spaniſh garriſon, are ſaid to have periſhed in the ruins. *Lond. gaz.*

Madrid, Oct. 18. Advices have been received here, ſince thoſe of the 14th inſtant, containing further particulars of the terrible calamities produced by the earthquake, which happened at Oran in the night of the 8th inſtant. By theſe, it appears, that twenty ſucceſſive ſhocks were felt at ſhort intervals. The whole city is deſtroyed, and a great part of the inhabitants and of the garriſon are buried under the ruins. Almoſt all the forts which cover that place and its diſtrict are open or deſtroyed, ſo as not to be in a ſituation to reſiſt an attack. The interior part of the garriſon is in ruins in many places, and the conſiderable number of people who were wounded and not actually killed by this diſaſter remained without aſſiſtance. *Lond. gaz.*

WEST INDIES.

Kingſton, Jamaica, July 3. Yeſterday evening the Actæon, of 44 guns, commanded by Lieut. Hanwell, anchored in Port-Royal harbour, having the 62d regiment on board.

The Actæon ſailed from Cork on the 5th of May laſt, for the purpoſe of the 62d regiment relieving the 57th at Halifax. But on the ſecond day after ſhe got there, an expreſs packet arrived with diſpatches, in conſequence of which ſhe was ordered inſtantly to depart, with the forces, for this iſland. She ſailed from thence on the 9th ult. accompanied by the Endymion, of 44 guns, having the 47th regiment on board, to go to New Providence.

IRELAND.

On July 2. the parliament met, and his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant opened the ſeſſion by an appoſite ſpeech, in which he acquainted both Houſes, by his Majeſty's command, with the riſe and progreſs of the diſpute with Spain, and of the armaments carrying on in the Spaniſh ports, "which had made it indiſpenſably neceſſary to give orders for making ſuch preparations as may put it in his Majeſty's power to act with vigour and

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and effect for the honour of his crown and the intereſts of his people; fully relying on the parliament of Ireland for cordial and effectual ſupport," &c.

But, previous to the delivery of the ſpeech, the uſual forms of the Lower Houſe had paſſed, their Speaker choſen and preſented, and their attendance in the Houſe of Peers ordered and complied with; and the Rt Hon. John Foſter, their late Speaker, placed in the chair, by a majority of 40. The numbers being, for Mr Foſter 145, for Mr Ponſonby 105.

On the return of the Commons to their own Houſe, the Speaker proceeded in the uſual manner to read the ſpeech.

Lord Headford then moved the Addreſs;

And Mr Parry ſeconded the motion.

Mr Grattan ſaid, that he thought there could be but one opinion, and that was, for the Addreſs to paſs; which it did unanimouſly.

Next day, July 3, Lord Headford brought up the report from the committee appointed to draw it up, which was agreed to. As was alſo the report from the committee appointed to draw up an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant.

The Chancellor of Exchequer roſe; and now, he ſaid, the ſenſe of the nation being fully underſtood, he had only to move for a vote of credit for 200,000l. to put the kingdom in a ſtate of defence, and towards raiſing men for his Majeſty's fleet, and pledged himſelf that every penny of it ſhould be applied to the purpoſes for which it was granted.

This gave riſe to a ſhort converſation, in which the Rt Hon. Brabaſon Ponſonby, Mr Grattan, and Mr Forbes, on one ſide; and Capt. Burgh, Col. Blaquiere, and the Chancellor of Exchequer on the other, took part.—The motion, however, paſſed without diviſion.

July 5. The Houſe being aſſembled, the Speaker roſe to ſtate an extraordinary circumſtance for their conſideration. A report had prevailed, that a ſtranger had voted in that aſſembly, as if a member, on Friday laſt. He had made ſtrict inquiry into the report, and found it to be true; and the perſon who had done ſo had come forward, and acknowledged his error, as the reſult of mere inadvertency and utter ignorance of the forms of the Houſe. However, as the act itſelf was very high offence againſt the privileges of that Houſe, he thought it his duty to ſtate the matter, that the Houſe might uſe their own diſcretion towards the perſon who had been guilty of the offence.

The Houſe then deſired the perſon might be brought to their bar.

Accordingly Mr Martin Gray came forward, and being examined, did ſay, that on Friday evening he came to the Houſe for the purpoſe of hearing the debates; but on his admittance, being totally unacquainted with the forms or regulations of the Houſe, he had come into the body of it, and ſat down on the left-hand ſide of the chair: that when the ſtrangers were ordered to withdraw, he had endeavoured to comply, but could not get out: that when the queſtion was put, and the Houſe divided, he had endeavoured to hide himſelf from the tellers, but was called on by one of them (Lord Delvin) to ſit forward; and owing to this circumſtance he was counted with the members.

He declared it was the mere effect of ignorance and inadvertency, without the ſmalleſt intention to do any thing offenſive to the Houſe. He was very ſorry for his fault, and ſaid, that as ſoon as he had heard it mentioned, he came forward voluntarily to make the beſt atonement in his power.

After ſome ſhort converſation, the Houſe with great good humour laughed at the occurrence, and diſcharged the gentleman without any cenſure.

Corke, Oct. 11. Yeſterday ſailed his Majeſty's ſhips Chicheſter, Capt. Price, the Dover, Capt. Drummond, and Sheerneſs, Capt. Watts, of 44 guns each, with the 13th and 15th regiments on board, for the Weſt Indies. The 43d, 51ſt and 61ſt, are ordered to be ready for embarkation.

ENGLAND.

The following is a liſt of the Dutch fleet ſent to our aſſiſtance during the diſpute with Spain, which lay at Spithead from July 8. [p. 347.] till Aug. 23. when it ſailed for the Texel.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Vryheid,	76	Vice A. Van Kinſbergen. Capt. Aberſon.
Venwagting,	68	Rear Ad. Rynereld.
Gelderland,	68	Capt. Tilleken.
Brakel,	56	— Rolls.
Monnikender,	44	— Blois Van Treſlang.
Pollux,	44	— Maſchop.
Venus,	26	— Alliers.
Pyle,	16	Lieut. Oldenhauſen.
Portilur,	16	— Beyer.
Courier,	16	— Marſchall.
Sperneeg,	12	— Blois Van Treſlang.

Admiral Barrington failed from Portſmouth, on June 29. with fifteen ſhips of the line beſides frigates, and arrived next day at Torbay.

Portſmouth, July 11. Friday evening Lord Howe and Rear-Adm. Gower arrived here, and yeſterday morning his Lordſhip hoiſted the Union flag on board the Queen Charlotte of 100 guns, as Commander in Chief of the combined fleets. This flag, a naval diſtinction ſecond only to that of the Lord High Admiral of England, has not been hoiſted for upwards of forty years, Sir John Norris being the laſt admiral who wore ſo diſtinguiſhed a flag.

The Dutch diviſion ſaluted his Lordſhip with ſeventeen guns, and his Lordſhip returned the ſame number.

Three regiments of foot were embarked in the fleet to ſerve as marines.

His Lordſhip went to London on the 14th, returned on the 24th, and ſailed for Torbay Aug. 10. with ſix ſhips of the line, where he joined Adm. Barrington, who had been reinforced with ſeveral ſhips from Plymouth. The whole fleet, conſiſting of thirty-one ſail of the line, beſides frigates, &c. ſailed from Torbay Aug. 17. on a cruiſe. [See the line of battle, p. 645.] They continued at ſea till the 13th of September, when ten of the ſhips arrived at Plymouth, and the reſt went on to Portſmouth.

A letter from an officer on board one of the ſhips gives the following account of the cruiſe.

The moſt part of our cruiſe has been confined to the latitudes of 28 and 50 N. longitude, two degrees and a half to the weſtward of the Lizard, alternately ſtanding in for and making the iſland of Uſhant on the French coaſt, and the Lizard on our own; but more particularly anxious to keep a good look-out on the port of Breſt; but notwithſtanding we ſpread a great diſtance with forty-nine ſail of pendents, and frequently ſtood within a few leagues of Uſhant, we never deſcried a ſingle man of war of any nation whatever. A ſignal indeed was made one day from one of the fleet, for ſeeing two French line of battle ſhips ſteering for Breſt, but it could not be clearly aſcertained they were ſuch; we rather ſuppoſed them Eaſt Indiamen.

The weather, for the firſt ſixteen or eighteen days, was very unfavourable for practiſing nautical evolutions; fogs, calms, and ſtormy gales, preventing any ſuch manœuvres from being put in execution; the latter part however has, in a great meaſure, compenſated for the loſt time, and ſignals have been repeatedly thrown out from the Queen Charlotte, to form in various lines of battle, which have been briſkly executed by the ſeveral commanders, who to a man ſeemed zealous to fulfil the intentions of the Admiral. Notwithſtanding the foggy weather for the firſt ſixteen or eighteen days, ſuch was the exact attention paid to ſignals, that not a ſingle ſhip loſt company the whole time.

During the abſence of Lord Howe, another large fleet (ſuppoſed for the Baltic) was aſſembled in the Downs, under the command of Lord Hood, who hoiſted his flag on board the Royal Sovereign, Sept. 4. as did Adm. Elliot on board the Bellerophon the ſame day. Lord Hood, however, ſtruck his flag next day, and returned to London, and the command devolved on Adm. Elliot. The diſpatch uſed in equipping this fleet was almoſt unparalleled in the hiſtory of the navy. On the 21ſt of September, the whole fleet, conſiſting of the following ſhips, ſailed for Spithead.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Bellerophon, -	74	{Vice-A. John Elliot, Capt. T. Paſley.
Royal Sovereign,	100	—R. Fiſher.
Victory, -	100	—J. Knight.
Barfleur, -	90	—R. Calder.
Alfred, -	74	—H. Harvey.
Captain, -	74	—A. Dickſon.
Elephant, -	74	—C. Thompſon.
Robuſt, -	74	—R. Cotton.
Swiftſure, -	74	—Sir James Wallace, Kt.
Vanguard, -	74	—Sir A. S. Hammond.
Ardent, -	64	—J. Vaſhon.
Aſia, - -	64	—A. Mitchell.
Lion, -	64	—S. Finch.
Scipio, -	64	—E. Thornborough.
Triton, -	28	—G. Murray (2d

The wind being contrary they were obliged to return, and were joined by the Windſor Caſtle of 98 guns, Capt. Sir Ja. Barclay, from the Nore. On the 22d they weighed again, and arrived at St Helen's next day.

Soon after the return of Lord Howe's fleet, a numerous promotion of naval officers took place [p. 467.] and the moſt unremitting exertions continued at all the ports. Many more ſhips were commiſſioned, and land-forces put on board to ſerve as marines. Several forty-four gun ſhips were likewiſe got ready to ſerve as

as tranſports for the troops deſtined for foreign ſervice. This was reckoned a very judicious meaſure. It cauſes not only a very conſiderable ſaving in tranſportation, but is a good ſecurity for the ſafe conveyance of what they have on board, forming in themſelves a ſufficient ſtrength to anſwer every purpoſe of a convoy. The ſaving in conveying the troops now ordered for embarkation will amount to near 20,000l.; they will make their voyages in leſs time than a fleet of heavy ſailing tranſports, and will perform three voyages while tranſports are making only two. The whole naval force at Portſmouth about the middle of October conſiſted of 4 ſhips of 110 guns,—9 of 98,—2 of 80,—20 of 74,—5 of 64,—and 24 frigates and ſloops, at Spithead ready for ſea; beſides 1 of 100 guns, 6 of 74, and 3 frigates, in the harbour. On the 15th there were no leſs than ten admirals flags flying at Spithead, the like of which never happened before, viz.

Adm.	Lord Howe's, in Queen Charlotte		100
	S. Barrington's,	Royal George	100
V.-Ad.	R. Roddam's,	Royal William	80
	Sir A. Hood's,	London	90
	J. Elliot's,	Barfleur	90
	W Hotham's,	Princeſs Royal	90
V.-Ad.	H. Sawyer's,	Windſor Caſtle	90
	SirR Bickerton's	Impregnable	90
	Sir J. Jervis's,	Prince	90
	S. G. Goodall's	Gibraltar	80

The court-martial on Lieut Bligh, [p. 563.] in conſequence of there being ſo many flags at Portſmouth, was almoſt wholly compoſed of admirals, viz. Adm. Barrington, preſident; Adm^{s} Roddam, Sir J. Jervis, Sir Alex. Hood, Elliot, Hotham, Gower, Corniſh, Goodall, Sawyer, Houlton: Capt^{s} Sir Roger Curtis, and Onſlow. The naval hiſtory of this country does not furniſh another inſtance of eleven admirals ſitting on a court-martial; but on this occaſion there may be ſaid to have been twelve; for Sir Roger Curtis, as Captain of the fleet, ranks with a Rear-Admiral.

On Oct. 27. a fleet of ſix ſhips of the line ſailed from Portſmouth, with troops on board, for the Weſt Indies, under the command of S. Corniſh, one of the lately promoted Admirals. [p. 514.]

Whilſt theſe formidable naval preparations were going on, meaſures were likewiſe taken for increaſing the land-forces. Orders were iſſued from the war-office for raiſing one hundred independent companies of foot, of one hundred men each. Large draughts were made from the three regiments of foot-guards to be ſent on foreign ſervice. On the 27th of October, immediately before their ſuppoſed departure for Portſmouth, the three battalions of guards were reviewed in Hyde Park by his Majeſty, attended by the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York and Glouceſter, the Dukes of Argyle and Richmond, Gen. Garth, Sir W. Fawcitt, Col. Tuffnel, and ſeveral other officers. Theſe draughts, together with ſome dragoons and Hanoverians, with the regiments from Corke, a regiment from Scotland, and recruits from Chatham, with the troops on board the fleet acting as marines, amounted to between 7 and 8000 men. The following are the officers of the guards that were appointed for foreign duty.

Officers of Firſt Battalion.

Col. Stevens	Lt-Col. Perryn	Capt. Archer
Sir Jas Duff	Capt. Ludlow	Capt. Fitzroy
King's, Lt-Col. Campbell	Capt. Schutz	Capt. Chaytor
	Capt. Clinton	Enſ. Bligh
Major General Garth	Capt. Marjoribanks	Enſ. Harvey
		Enſ. Ruddock
Col. Hulſe	Capt. Williams	Enſ. Bruhl
Col. Bellew	Capt. Briſtow	Enſ. Boyd
Lt-Col. D'Oyly	Capt. Maitland	Enſ. Campbell
Lt-Col. Talbot	Capt. Smith	Enſ. Bathurſt
Lt-Col. Eyre	Capt. Warde	Enſ. Clinton

Coldſtream Officers.

Lt-Col. Morſhead	Lt Col. Nugent	Capt. Webb
		Capt. Hall
His R. H. the Duke's Company	Lt-Col. Gould	Enſ. Viſ. Stopford
	Capt. Cawell	Enſ. Madocks
Col. Pennington	Lt-Col. N. Boſcawen	Enſ. Brice
Lt-Col. Stanwix	Capt. DeViſme	Enſ. Vane
	Capt. Gaſcoyne	Enſ. Capel
Lt-Col. Byde	Capt. Parker	Enſ. Spenſer
Lt-Col. Boſville	Capt. Freemantle	Enſ. Windſor
		Enſ. Gregory
Lt-Col. Eld	Capt. Finch	Enſ. Hulſe

Third Regiment Officers.

Col. Leigh	Lt-Col. Stead	Capt. Cunningham
Duke of Argyll's Company	Capt. Barnett	
	Lt-Col. Manners	Capt. Groſvenor
Col. Greenfield		
Lt-Col. Johnſtone	Capt. Turner	Enſ. Copley
	Capt. Innis	Enſ. Daſhwood
Lt-Col. Swanton	Capt. Campbell	Enſ. Campbell
	Capt. Clephane	E. Armſtrong
Lt-Col. Pigot	Capt. H. Campbell	E. Anſtruther
Lt-Col. Campbell		Enſ. Dilkes
	Capt. Stuart	Enſ. Hamilton
Ld Ch. Fitzroy		Enſ. Warren

Gen

Gen. Garth was appointed commander in chief, and Col[s] Hulſe, Pennington, and Greenfield to command the battalions.

The guards had got all their baggage, &c. in readineſs, and every day expected orders to march for Portſmouth, when the meſſenger arrived from Madrid with the accounts of the convention being ſigned [p. 563.], upon which a ſtop was put to the warlike preparations.

Letters received by the Alice and Jane, Slater, from the Bay of Honduras, which arrived at Plymouth Oct. 26 mention, that a ſhort time previous to her arrival at Honduras, the Serpent ſloop of war, of 16 guns, Captain Gregory, which ſailed from Plymouth, June 27. under ſealed orders, had arrived there, and had landed all the field-pieces, ſmall arms, powder, ſhot, &c. that were ſhipped on board her at Plymouth, which were then ſaid to be deſtined for Jamaica.

The Niger frigate of 32 guns was commiſſioned in November, and the command given to the Hon. George Berkeley, who is alſo ſurveyor general of the ordnance, he being appoined together with Col. Moncrieff and Lt-Col. D'Aubant of the engineers, commiſſioners to inſpect the fortifications in the Weſt India iſlands. The Niger ſailed with theſe gentlemen on Dec. 6.

The Charlemont packet ſailed from Liverpool, Dec. 15. and had reached the Bay of Dublin, when ſhe was driven back by a violent gale of wind. On Friday, the weather became favourable, and the Captain again proceeded to ſea, having during this interval increaſed his paſſengers to the number of about 120. He again had nearly made the port of Dublin, when a ſecond time he was forced to put back. By this time the uneaſineſs of the people became general, and the cabin paſſengers were very importunate with the Maſter to land them at Holyhead, although he declared himſelf imperfectly acquainted with the coaſt, and exhorted them to relinquiſh their intentions.—His mate, however, confident of his own intimate knowledge, ſucceeded in carrying the favourite point of the paſſengers, and they accordingly ſteered thither; the conſequences were fatal: the mate, deceived by ſome lights, miſtook his courſe; the veſſel ſtruck on one of the rocks which ſkirt the Welch coaſt, ſoon after went to pieces, and ſixteen perſons only eſcaped.

SCOTLAND.

A cauſe of great importance, eſpecially to magiſtrates of royal boroughs, was determined in May laſt by the court of ſeſſion. On the 26th of October 1787, a gentleman was apprehended upon letters of caption, by a meſſenger from Edinburgh, for a debt due to the purſuer, amounting to 1326 l. Sterling of principal, with intereſt thereof ſince the 14th of January 1778.

The meſſenger carried his priſoner to the burgh of Annan; and on the evening of the day on which he was apprehended, delivered him over to the provoſt of the place, in order that he might be incarcerated in the tolbooth, at the ſame time, taking a receipt from the provoſt for the body of the priſoner.

From motives of humanity and friendſhip the priſoner was allowed to remain in the inn; the provoſt and ſome other gentlemen continuing with him till bedtime, when they left him to his repoſe. And the priſon being alledged in a ſituation unfit for his reception, he was not removed thither till the following afternoon.

The practice of Annan had, for many years, been, to allow priſoners for debt the privilege of certain apartments called *open jail*. This privilege was, upon the uſual conditions, granted this priſoner, who, if he had choſen, might have eaſily made his eſcape.

He afterwards brought a *ceſſio bonorum* againſt his creditors, which was oppoſed by the purſuer. After ſome litigation between the parties, the preſent action was raiſed againſt the magiſtrates of Annan for recovery of the above-mentioned ſum of L. 1326, with expences, from them, in conſequence of their not having committed the debtor to priſon in due time after he was delivered to them, and having kept him in ſuch eaſy cuſtody.

The cauſe has been agitated before the court of ſeſſion ſince February 1787. Several interlocutors were pronounced by Lord Eſkgrove as Ordinary, in favour of the defenders. But the cauſe was now finally decided in favour of the purſuer, and the magiſtrates of Annan found liable for the principal ſum, intereſt, and expences.

Tueſday, Oct. 19. 261 rank and file, and 21 non-commiſſioned officers, drafted from the 35th regiment, arrived in Edinburgh to complete the 55th. They left Hamilton that morning, and arrived there in the evening, which is a march of 38 miles. Next afternoon they ſet off for Newcaſtle, along with the light infantry company of the 55th regiment, where they are to be embarked.

The LONDON General Bill of Christenings and Burials, from December 15. 1789, to December 14. 1790; with the diseases and casualties, &c.

Christened			Buried			Decreased in the burials this year 2711.
	Males	9766		Males	9192	
	Females	9214	18980	Females	8846	18038

Between	Age.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	No.
	Under 2	5877	20 and 30	1277	60 and 70	1233	102	1
	2 and 5	1948	30 and 40	1733	70 and 80	818	103	1
	5 and 10	748	40 and 50	1785	80 and 90	376	105	1
	10 and 20	640	50 and 60	1548	90 and 100	51	107	1

Diseases.						*Casualties, &c.*	
Abort. and Stillb.	806	Cough, and Hooping-Cough	391	Leprosy	3	Broken Limbs	4
Abscess	17	Diabetes	1	Lethargy	3	Bruised	3
Aged	1000	Dropsy	767	Livergrown	1	Burnt	16
Ague	3	Evil	6	Lunatic	52	Choaked	2
Apoplexy and Sud.	198	Fever, ditto malignant, scarlet, spotted, and purples	2185	Measles	119	Drowned	119
Asthma and Phthisick	311	Fistula	5	Miscarriage	1	Excessive Drinking	5
Bedridden	13	Flux	4	Mortification	183	Executed *	14
Bleeding	7	French Pox	27	Palsy	80	Found Dead	6
Bloody Flux	1	Gout	83	Pleurisy	7	Fractured	2
Burstten and Rupture	13	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	41	Quinsy	2	Frighted	2
Cancer	53	Grief	4	Rash	2	Killed by Falls, and several other Accidents	64
Canker	2	Headmouldsh. Horshochead, and Water in the Head	48	Rheumatism	7	Killed themselves	31
Chicken Pox	2	Impostthume	2	Rickets	2	Murdered	3
Childbed	150	Inflammation	142	Scurvy	5	Overlaid	1
Cold	3	Jaundice	33	Small Pox	1617	Poisoned	4
Cholic, Gripes, Twisting of the Guts	6			Sore Throat	5	Scalded	8
Consumption	4852			Sores and Ulcers	7	Smothered	1
Convulsions	4003			Stoppage in Stom.	7	Starved	4
				Surfeit	2	Suffocated	2
				Teeth	410		
				Thrush	45		
				Worms	81		

* There have been 38 executed, but only 14 of them were buried within the bills of mortality.

The EDINBURGH General Bill of Mortality for 1790.

	Buried in the City.			*West-kirk.*			*Canongate.*			*Calton.*				Age.	No.
	Mal.	Fem.	Tot.	Mal.	Fem.	Tot.	Mal.	Fem.	Tot.	Mal.	Fem.	Tot.	In all	Under 2 years	653
Jan.	34	41	75	25	26	51	14	13	27	16	21	37	190	Between 2 & 5	216
Feb.	25	31	56	29	21	50	19	14	33	33	16	49	188	5 & 10	99
Mar.	27	33	60	26	26	52	19	12	31	23	26	49	192	10 & 20	93
April	29	21	50	22	26	48	10	18	28	30	22	52	178	20 & 30	128
May	24	23	47	21	23	44	8	20	28	26	15	41	160	30 & 40	143
June	28	30	58	18	26	44	16	14	30	15	20	35	167	40 & 50	157
July	22	32	54	23	30	53	12	9	21	17	26	43	171	50 & 60	149
Aug.	18	21	39	21	14	35	14	15	29	17	8	25	128	60 & 70	186
Sept.	13	20	33	13	21	34	13	16	29	17	15	32	128	70 & 80	127
Oct.	22	30	52	18	21	39	8	12	20	20	25	45	156	80 & 90	46
Nov.	18	27	45	29	22	51	15	13	28	20	25	45	169	90 & 100	6
Dec.	26	26	52	22	22	44	15	27	42	17	22	39	177	100 & 105	1
Total	286	335	621	267	278	545	163	183	346	251	241	492	2004	Decreased	71.

Diseases, &c.

Accident	1	Brain-fever	2	Drowned	4	Measles	11	Sore throat	4
Aged	233	Cancer	1	Fever	257	Mortification	4	Spotted fever	5
Ague	2	Childbed	26	Flux	2	Nervous fever	18	Stillborn	71
Apoplexy	6	Chincough	121	Found dead	1	Obstruction in the bowels	1	Suddenly	19
Asthma	36	Cholic	1	Gravel	2	Overgrowth	1	Swelling	6
Bealing in the liver	1	Cold	2	Headach	1	Pains	1	Teething	169
Bed-ridden	2	Consumption	563	Hysterics	2	Palsy	10	Vomiting	1
A Bone in the throat	1	Cramp	3	Inflammation	4	Rose fever	1	Water in the Head	1
Bowelhive	202	Croop	1	Jaundice	3	Smallpox	163	Worms	9
		Dropped down	1	Killed by falls, &c.	8				2
		Dropsy	19						

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THE

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MDCCXCI.

VOLUME LIII.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

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1790 *Oct.* 16. Col. Floyd, after having, with a very inferior force, been engaged two days with a part of Tippoo's army, retreated, and joined the army under Gen. Medows, p. 197.

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ERRATUM.

p. 414. *col.* 1. *line* 16. *Take out the words*, daughter of the late Dr Robert Wood, phyſician.

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Brutus to the Right Honourable W. P***.

SIR,

SOME laughing author tells us of an old lady, who, upon any little grievance that befel her, uſed to complain to the King. I am ſufficiently aware of the ridicule which may be affixed to the circumſtance of an individual addreſſing the miniſter.—Yet a man not unaccuſtomed to think on political ſubjects, who has lived with ſome degree of obſervation, and amidſt a circle capable of informing him, to a very advanced period of life, may, in this country, and in this æra of political diſquiſition, be pardoned the vanity of ſuch a correſpondence. An honeſt man without any pretenſion to ſuperior abilities, who has only talents and moderation enough to diſcover what the better part of the country thinks, and who has no motive to miſlead him either in forming or in expreſſing his opinion, may be of ſome little uſe even to a well-informed miniſter. If he cannot influence the conduct of a bad adminiſtration, he may at leaſt convey a ſuffrage not unpleaſing to a good one.

To you, Sir, he will be particularly entitled to addreſs himſelf when he conſiders you as the miniſter of the people. This title, I know, has not uſually been allowed you: titles are given to men, as names to things, from their firſt appearance to the eye; and you were certainly leſs formed to conciliate popularity than